

Workers'



Breadnought

FOR GOING TO THE ROOT.

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WEEKLY.

ROSA LUXEMBURG AND KARL LIEBKNECHT.

Rosa, whose verderous thoughts bloomed 'mid the dusk
Of prison cells, and whose up-soaring mind
Broke forth beyond the bars, and winged its flight
Past all conventions of the sordid throng;
Thy lustrous eyes turned skywards on the clouds,
With dreaming looks, writing of birds and flowers,
To lull the sharpness of another's pain.
Rosa, that doctoral in the school would teach,
And wrote grave tomes of deep and wide import,
And entered zestful into argument,
Swaying vast crowds, beloved of simple folk;
O, prophetess sublime and undeterred,
Eager to press, all valorous, 'mid the throng,
Of seething thousands in those bitter days.
O false intent and vile; O cruel intent
That swooped upon thee in the eventide,
And with the clashing noise of men at arms,
Forced frightful entry, rudely bore thee hence,
And thou, O Rosa, in thy courage rare,
Didst jest of it; a little while wouldst stay
To gather trifles for thy journey brief.
Well didst thou know that journey was to death;
Yet wouldst thy bravery show no doubtful sign
To those kind folk who wept to see thee part,
Or one regret for life thus harshly torn
From Hope's fruition, seeming then so nigh,
Again to prison! Cheerfully dost go
As though thou loved'st that gloomy tram-
melling drear.
Aye, drearer than the cell, thy couch to-night
Beneath the river in its winter cold.
O Rosa, now they batter thee, thy head,
Thy gracious head, battered with musket
blows.
And crush thy skull, O Rosa, in their hate,
And cast thee down, O Rosa, in the flood,
Hiding thy body in that icy stream
In frozen Tiergarten that floweth on.
O Rosa, in that cold December night,
Thy gentle body sunk beneath the flood.
For rich-proud men thy life hath been
destroyed,
And all thy beauty beaten down in gore,
Pale memory alone may now rehearse
Thy vanished form the waters will consume.
Dear Rosa, in our winter art thou spent,
Thy being, rich in seeds of sweeter gifts,
Thy mind, courageous with its sweeping
thoughts
And tender musings, where thy spirit dwelt,
Agile and sweet as children's blithesome play.
O gracious mind, O most courageous heart,
That rose, past failing, at the testing time,
Though thou didst faint when first was seen
the flag
Stained with thy comrades' blood; stained
deeper
Art thou, with thine own gore, thy murderers
spill.
Great Karl that knew no pause; heroic friend
That vaulted onward to that vast goal
Where freedom waits, O glorious Freedom's
self,
And Life's new beauties, where our bread
we'll break
In simple friendship, and accustomed ease,
Glad as calm eves, 'neath immemorial yews,
Where gold sun's rays slant low with ruddy
light.
You saw that vision of the future days,
And followed it, unheeding of the wrath
Of jealous power that compassed thee about
With murderous menace of wild men at arms.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

MR. RAMSAY MACDONALD'S PRO-
NOUNCEMENT.

ANALYSED BY SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The Foreign Policy of the Labour Party. By
J. Ramsay MacDonald. (Cecil Palmer
1s.)

Mr. MacDonald's book on the foreign policy of his expected administration is a cautious document. It abounds in the phraseology of altruism, but it plainly reveals that no great breach in the traditions of foreign diplomacy may be expected from its author.

The essence of the pronouncement is summed up in the following words:—

"We shall take the world as we find it, and, in relation to what we consider its future ought to be, we shall devise our policy."

Superficially that means neither more nor less than Mr. Asquith's "Wait and See"; but the phrase: "We shall take the world as we find it," implies a tolerance of existing conditions, which is by no means inspiring.

Mr. MacDonald deals first with America. He affects to accept the usual pretence that the United States is a land of peculiar benevolence and undoubted democracy. The action of the United States towards Mexico, the Philippines, and certain small South American States, cries aloud against this hypocrisy, but Mr. MacDonald affects to accept the pretence as incontrovertible. He declares that the Labour Party considers its own world policy of pacification and reconstruction, of democratic development and freedom, as "essentially akin to the spirit and purposes of America." He adds:

"The ideas of democratic control and democratic aims to which the Labour Party has held steadfastly, and upon which it has built up what success it has won, enables it to see more plainly than other parties the American point of view."

The gross corruption of American politics, the hideous tyranny and violence of its police and judicial system, exerted with unrestrained violence, as it has been during recent years, against political and industrial reformers, are ignored by Mr. MacDonald.

Though he thus accepts, in the spirit of polite diplomacy, America's statement that it is the most democratic of nations, Mr. MacDonald is only prepared to make America a donation of compliments. Like the British diplomatists of the old schools, he doubtless recognises the United States as a rival, for, amidst much meaningless verbiage, he slips in a pregnant phrase:

"To think of an American alliance is both stupid and dangerous; to dream of American goodwill and help is natural..."

He adds that America has "always been willing to help Europe..." It has only asked for a guarantee that its help is to be effective."

We should rather say: America "has always been willing to do business in Europe..." It has only asked for a guarantee that its help is to be financially and politically profitable for itself, and such help will not be used to build

Rosa and Karl, our thoughts of ye we weave
Into a garland, wrought of bitter sweet,
Teeming with ripeness, and abounding wealth
Of hopes that bear us onward through this
time.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

up armaments which might be used against itself or its allies, or to resist its authority.

Mr. MacDonald tactfully endeavours to answer at least the first of these stipulations without indicating thus baldly as we have done:

"No party will fulfil its international obligations with more scrupulous care than the Labour Party."

As to the second he says:

"The main objective of a Labour Government would be to disestablish militarism." By subsequent statement Mr. MacDonald renders the above phrase meaningless in relation to immediate problems. He adds:

"There is far more menace to the friendly relations between ourselves in a new Tariff Bill introduced in Washington, or a Tariff Reform agitation conducted here from Tory headquarters—certainly far more in the feeble handling by our Government of the disgraceful conduct of the liquor interest in conspiring to violate the liquor law of America—than there would be in the domestic policy of a Labour Government."

Even the last observation, mark you, is not a pledge. Mr. MacDonald is always cautious.

So much for American relations. The shrewd observer will notice that Mr. MacDonald has nothing new to offer—unless it be a more careful observance of the American liquor law.

Should Britain Leave the European Continent to Take Care of Itself?

The above is Mr. MacDonald's second question.

His answer is in the negative:

"We are responsible as a partner for the present state of Europe."

Moreover, he postulates that if Britain does not assist in settling the problems of Europe, those problems may be settled to the detriment of British interests.

The Balance of Power.

Several important statements are somewhat obscurely made in this chapter. The foremost of them is the acceptance of the policy of the Balance of Power, which has been unsparingly denounced by Mr. E. D. Morel and other leaders of the U.D.C., to which Mr. MacDonald also belongs. He says:

"We cannot feel safe if any Power should be able to dominate the Continent, and we shall therefore continue to be interested in a Balance of Power policy."

"I am quite sure that no responsible statesman will ever persuade the people of this country to disarm in a world armed to the teeth... So long as the world is armed, the simple traditional determining purposes of British military policy will remain active..."

"The development of the arm has confused somewhat the political strategy based upon a naval and land arm, but the nature of the strategy remains the same. It must be of the essence of a Balance of Power."

Say good-bye, ye pacifists who have flocked into the I.L.P. as non-resistants, to any hope that Mr. MacDonald will stand for the limitation of armaments! Like his predecessors he will continue to crucify the nations in the race for a Balance of Power.

Liberals and Radicals who have turned to the Labour Party in the hope of finding therein the resurrection of their hopes, should observe these illuminating phrases:

"We are as far removed from the Imperialism of Disraeli and the land and

concession grabbers as from the antiquated negativism of the pure doctrine of Cobdenism."

The League of Nations.

As to the League of Nations, Mr. MacDonald has, as usual, a foot in both camps:

"We must find in the League of Nations the focus of our contacts with Europe. But until the League has obtained the confidence of all the important nations, we must not become the mere catspaw of the League's devotees, and do nothing except through the League."

Observe that Mr. MacDonald does not claim himself as one of "the League's devotees."

We ourselves are not devotees of the League of Nations: we are opponents of the capitalist system, and consider that, as such, we should merely burn our fingers were we to involve ourselves in its diplomacy. Mr. MacDonald, however, is eager to take a hand in the diplomatic game, and the Labour Party has declared itself for the League of Nations. One cannot effectively both blow hot and cold in any matter. If the British Government were to declare its intention to act only through the League, the League would be strengthened by all the power possessed by the British Empire. France and America would still refuse to bow to the League, of course, except in so far as it suited them to do so. Therein lies the fallacy of the League as an instrument of practical capitalist politics. Mr. MacDonald, however, does not frankly admit that.

In concluding his chapter on "Should Britain Leave the European Continent to Take Care of Itself?" Mr. MacDonald insists that Britain shall pursue an active political and economic policy towards Germany and the small States created by the war. He decides against a policy of isolation, arguing it would mean that:

"From within our own borders we should survey our military position and our economic possibilities, fall back upon an exclusive Empire—and allow the slow-footed years to bring us our doom. For let there be no mistake about it, that is surrender; that is to give up initiative and to let the tides heaving in the world carry us whither they will."

Mr. MacDonald urges that Britain should:

"Keep the initiative in creating a better political and financial order in Europe by patiently building up councils and courts that would be more judicial than legislative."

In this manner, he says, war could be avoided. We think not. Mr. MacDonald's policy seems to us to differ in no essential from that of the men who made the late war.

Like that pre-war policy, it includes the effort to maintain a balance of power which would give the supreme power to Britain, and necessitate the naval and military armaments requisite to maintain it. It entails perpetual wire-pulling, intrigue, and bullying of the small states.

FINANCE.

Mr. MacDonald indicates that a Labour Government's finance, under his guidance, will be cautious. Existing methods he characterises as wasteful, uncertain, and liable to be upset by corners and panics. He prefers such an organisation as the Russian "Arcos," or, still more, the British Co-operative Wholesale Society. Nevertheless, he makes it plain that a Labour Government would not interfere with the present methods, because—

"The transactions are conducted, however, by a delicate mechanism easily put out of gear and controlled by a handful of powerful people, and a Labour Government would never think of a mere wanton interference, which, however good its paper justification might be, would lead to unnecessary trouble."

It seems that the Labour Government will leave a handful of powerful people to carry on in tranquillity. The price those powerful people may expect to exact for such tranquillity is not apparently thought worthy of mention. On the contrary the Russians are chided for

defying the powerful few, Bolshevism being referred to as a "noxious weed."

Well, well, Mr. MacDonald is riding for a fall; one need not think too bitterly of him. Time will show the folly of his courses.

Mr. MacDonald declares for Free Trade; also for international agreement for the distribution of tropical products, oil, and so on, a department of the League of Nations perhaps facilitating such arrangements. That, of course, is not precisely Free Trade; the proposed agreement might be beneficent, or sinister. Its terms are left to the imagination. Such insubstantial castle-building is fashionable nowadays.

PITY THE POOR NATIVE!

A new move to develop the tropics is foreshadowed. "The next generation cannot leave the tropics to crude nature," says this lover of government. He adds: "Unless their care is under the control of Labour Governments, their development is to be the signal for a scramble, and an exploitation in relation to which the worst days of the Congo will appear to be human."

We wonder whether the coloured peoples of South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia, will echo Mr. MacDonald's faith in the security offered by Labour Governments.

INTERNATIONAL LOANS.

Mr. MacDonald proposes to protect countries where the currency value is high from being undercut by those where the currency is low. To effect this he would restore the depreciated currency to an international value equivalent to its domestic one. He favours doing this by way of international loans. The condition of such loans would be that the debtor nation should balance its budget, and that its expenditure should be closely scrutinised by the creditor Governments, not a penny of the loan being allowed to be spent on armaments.

This is rather interesting. Britain must arm, Mr. MacDonald insists; but her debtors he will not permit to arm. Austria is complaining that the conditions of the workers are depressed by the international control.

Mr. MacDonald issues the warning that the Labour Government will not assist loans floated "to the excessive advantage of financiers," as he asserts was the case of the recent Austrian loan. When the loan was agreed to by Parliament, Mr. MacDonald was one of its ardent supporters; he described the measure authorising it as the most beneficent which could be passed by Parliament, and led a united Labour Party into the division lobby to vote for it.

The future Labour Prime Minister warns Germany and the other struggling states that, in any case, they must only expect very small loans, for these "ought not to be drawn from capital required for our own needs" or from capital required for the Empire.

RUSSIA.

"During revolutions like those of France and Russia foreign representatives have to be withdrawn," says Mr. MacDonald, but the Labour Government, like Mr. Asquith, would now recognise Soviet Russia, enter into trade relations with Moscow, and grant facilities under the export credits scheme.

Tact not being regarded as so important in the case of Russia as towards powerful America, Mr. MacDonald declares that the Labour Government "would stand no monkey tricks from Russian diplomatic representatives."

Russian diplomatists, possessing as much of what is described as the pride of Lucifer as other diplomatists, we imagine that Mr. MacDonald may presently learn that such lapses from the language of diplomacy are scarcely profitable.

From the standpoint of peace, the most hopeful phrases in Mr. MacDonald's entire pronouncement are these:

"We must have no sectional alliances."

"We must give no guarantees of a special kind."

That declaration does not correspond, however, with the maintenance of a Balance of Power.

Taken as a whole, this statement of the foreign policy of the Labour Party is by no means reassuring to those who long for peace. We wonder how far it will be welcomed by the members of the Labour Party.

The pronouncement contains no reference to Franco-British relations. The omission is no doubt diplomatic—Mr. MacDonald anticipates becoming the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in a few days' time. So much for "open diplomacy!"

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE KU-KLUX-KLAN.

By HUBERT LANGEROCK.

The KKK is with us and, while industrialists do not share in that crude pragmatism which stays satisfied with the stupid formula that everything that is is right, it will not do to dismiss its existence without a sober scrutiny of its background. As a social phenomenon, the KKK is too bulky to be referred to one single cause. The reasons for its existence are many and more or less uneven in their potentiality. Roughly they may be divided into economic and non-economic causes, and the latter being secondary in their importance can be briefly mentioned before we attempt to bring to light the main economic reasons.

FRATERNALISM.

First, the Klan is a lodge and, as such, it is not an isolated phenomenon, but must be considered as one more term in a series called fraternalism.

To the shallow mind who fails to see what lies behind fraternalism, economically and psychologically, the cheap mystery and mumery of the lodge appeals in the very proportion that it becomes more uncanny. The simpleton who enjoys that kind of claptrap will always fall for something more weird than what he has known before. So, after the comic opera uniforms of the older orders have lost their attraction, the bedsheet regalia of the Klan appears as a decided innovation. Besides in that domain, fashions are the order of the day. There is a steady demand for a higher degree of silliness after preceding stunts have grown stale.

Not only is the Klan in line with the institution of fraternalism, in its array of titles and costumes, but also in its attitude towards the political state.

STATE SUPREMACY.

Our professional Americans and those who limit themselves to repeating their vapourings have a good deal to say about the necessity of maintaining the supremacy of the State in the loyalty of the citizen. Loyalty to the State, they claim, must be supreme and above class loyalty. Unfortunately for them, the day has never been when the lodge did not try to infringe upon the State. In spite of their funny dress parades and their financially unsound benevolence, lodges would not be the power they are to-day if they had not effectively and successfully deprived the political State directly or indirectly of some of its authority and compelled it in many instances to approve the decisions taken in the secrecy of the various lodge rooms.

In both these domains, the Klan has not created something new; it has merely accentuated an already existing tendency.

A SELLING CAMPAIGN.

Another reason for the success of the Klan was its selling campaign. In its early days fraternalism was strongly critical of the middleman of commerce. To-day lodge memberships are sold by as rabid and noisy men and methods as any wild-cat stock promotion.

When Mr. Clark set out to sell the Klan at its bargain rate of ten dollars a head, he conceived a plan of campaign which took in every available prospect in the country and he created an organisation to carry out his scheme. Organisation properly carried on will accomplish anything it sets out to do. Let me perfect an adequate organisation and I shall fill huge auditoriums to listen to a Billy

Sunday or to look at an African baboon. Regardless of the nature of the attraction, organisation will fetch the crowd.

The Klan was well sold. Its organisers knew their business. If coloured strike-breakers were brought into a town, the AFL membership were canvassed and they generally fell for the talk of white supremacy. If white strikers put the commercial middle class to some inconvenience, out went the familiar Ti-Bo-Tim postcard stating one of the purposes of the order to be: "Preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign labour agitators."

These high-power campaigns by conscienceless salesmen who are after the fee and do not care for the organisation or its principles carries its own penalty.

CLAIMS BIG MEMBERSHIP.

The Klan claims two and a half million members, and that number is fairly accurate if we limit ourselves to the applications received and accepted; but only one-fourth of the initiated stay with the organisation as active members. For various reasons the rest drop out.

Some people are anxious to become members of the Klan. Bootleggers who want to cover up their tracks vie with professional politicians to get on the Klan band wagon. The professional politician is about as contemptible an individual as we are able to discover in America. He switches his allegiance every time he expects a funeral at the State House. In his private life, he may be a libertine or a degenerate, but before the crowd he must parade his allegiance to all the tenets of conventional Christian-capitalist morality. If some gang achieves power for the time being, he must try and join it. Some of the highest officials in the Federal and State Governments have applied for admission to the Klan on their own motion.

From a nationalistic point of view, the Klan may be said to have fallen heir to one of the main traits of middle-class Americanism, the tendency to mob action.

THE MOB SPIRIT.

The mob spirit which went together with the westward expansion of American capitalism was always dominated by the Puritan spirit of intolerance and bigotry. As long as a large geographic sweep made it possible for groups or individuals disagreeing with their neighbours to move on, as they were usually encouraged to do, no immediate clash resulted, but things came to a focus when the free land was exhausted and native-born and recent immigrants had to live together in a limited space.

Haunted by the possible competition of the newcomers, the middle class sought to hide its will to power under a kind of moralistic cloak directed against anything or anybody who laid claim to more intelligence and culture than the native-born citizen.

To bring about that apotheosis of its own mediocrity, the middle class was willing to form psychological crowds acting in violence to all forms of established legality.

Again, from this point of outlook, the Klan did not innovate, it merely emphasised an existing tendency.

The same is true about the clericalism of the Klan.

RAMPANT CLERICALISM.

America is to-day one of the worst clericalised countries in the world. The intolerant spirit of the early Puritans is still alive and has only changed its outside appearance.

All our constitutional dispositions as to religious freedom are a dead letter. There is no religious freedom outside of organised Christianity. Let those who doubt this statement consider what happens to a non-Christian who tries to run for office. The constitutional disposition prohibiting appropriations for sectarian purposes is daily violated in letter and in spirit. State and Church overlap in their functions and attributions. American life is dominated by an ecclesiasticism of which, as Mencken states, the country has no reason whatever to be proud. No official commis-

sion is complete without a churchman in its membership, although the latter is nearly always absolutely incompetent. Religious tolerance is on the decline. The Billy Sunday revivals forced members of certain denominations to sell their property at a loss and move to other localities. Here again the Klan took one more step forward in an already existent direction.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM.

Ever since the earliest immigration into the U.S., there existed a prejudice against Roman Catholics whose basis is economic. Protestantism is a form of Christianity adapted to the mentality of the self-employed and the commercial middle class. The primary economic character of that class was the use of competition. They were individualists and, as such, could not agree on anything positive or constructive. Their moral life was like their economic life, broken up into competing factions. In religious matters, they scattered into over two hundred sects. The latter, being unable to agree on any positive common rule of conduct, soon learned to use a kind of rule of thumb. They might not be able to agree on what to do, but whatever the Catholics did, that was the way to be avoided.

For many years the middle class socially ostracised the Catholics to such an extent that those of the latter who landed in the middle class economically changed their religion as well.

A change in this condition of affairs was brought about by the Taft administration. Political socialism reached its high water mark about that time, and the President and his Attorney-General, Mr. Wickersham, were led to believe that the Catholic Church could stem effectively the rise of political socialism. The Church at once launched its campaign, and one of its features was a confidential interchange of information between the Knights of Columbus and the Department of Justice.

Conscious of their new found usefulness to the cause of capitalism, the Catholics began at once to claim their place in the social sun. They had a strong organisation and made decided inroads on an economic domain which had so far been practically monopolised by the Protestants. Thus a new organisation faced the merchants and the professional men, and the latter resented it.

We can thus notice that underneath the religious prejudices of the middle class there lurks an interest which is of a decidedly economic nature. Let us now consider the causes for the existence of the KKK which are of an openly economic or material nature.

THE ECONOMIC CAUSES.

These causes include mainly the right to exploit the foreigner and the scramble for the liberal professions, especially law and medicine.

The frame of mind in which the hundred per cent. American emerged from the patriotic jags of war hysteria can be traced directly to the attitude of the South towards the negro. The nativist carried over into his treatment of the foreigner the psychology of the dominant race. His purpose was to hide capitalistic exploitation under a cloak of racial superiority.

The negro has in recent years adopted a policy of direct economic action by withdrawing his labour power from the southern market, and the very men who for years had bemoaned his presence in their midst were the first to protest and try to stop the exodus. The south never wanted the negro to leave. It merely wanted to scare him into accepting low wages, half of which could be paid in worthless store orders.

The nativist, after the war, intended acting on the same lines. The *Wall Street Journal* gave the whole show away when it stated editorially: We must keep the alien influx down, not out.

The vested right which the nativist wanted to establish in his favour failed to materialise. The so-called foreigners knew that they constituted the industrial proletariat of machine industry, the personnel of the leading form of production. They were conscious of their

rights, they had tasted some of the fruits of organisation here and abroad, they knew that in international law they were entitled to the status of the most favoured nation under existing treaties and their refusal to sanction the vested right which the nativist was trying to establish caused the attempt to collapse. The nativist had to back up and to accept the fact that he could not exploit the foreigner economically on national grounds.

One of the reasons of this failure was the fear of large scale industry that such an attempt might jeopardise its own exploitation of the foreigner on merely economic grounds. They could see their privileges endangered by the attempt to carry into force, mainly to the advantage of merchants and professional men, a secondary form of nationalistic exploitation.

BIG CAPITAL USES KKK.

Big capital used the middle class organised in the Klan to do its dirty and lawless work, to form the pick-handle brigades and the citizens' committees and the packed juries, but when it came to material rewards the Klan had to be satisfied with hollow words of praise, a cheap monkey money which buys nothing in the market.

Still, in this case, experience has not been a teacher. Some of the victims of the Klan are still active at the game and the expected rewards are still as far away as ever.

It takes a middle class bourgeois fighting for his economic existence to feel and understand the power of capital, and that is the reason why, if he manages to survive, or achieves a modicum of success in business, he does not want his children to follow his line of work. The dream of the middle class father is to land his son in the liberal professions. The latter are exceedingly overcrowded to such an extent that many of their members are not earning a decent living. It is a constant practice to-day that a boy in order to make a start as a doctor or a lawyer must have, besides his education, a small independent income. In case of success, the income may not be longer needed, but the vast majority never reach the stage where they can do without it.

We can now fathom the disappointment of the bourgeois father who finds out, after all those sacrifices, that the members of an alien race are able to come along penniless and, through sheer ability, outstrip the coddled offspring of the American bourgeois. Four or five generations of American shopkeepers work up to the grand climax where a scion of the family is going to be a lawyer, and when the lad reaches college he meets a Jewish boy on whose trunk you can still find the steorage labels that were pasted on it when his folks came over from the old country.

ANTI-SEMITISM—ITS ORIGIN.

Twenty years ago, any American would have been ashamed to speak in an intolerant way about the Jewish race. To-day, the vast majority of the American middle class is anti-semitic for the same reason that makes anti-semites of the middle class all over Europe, viz., because the Jew, through his native qualities, outstrips the nativist in the professions and fills them with larger success and in numbers far greater than the quota to which he would be entitled if it was based upon the numerical strength of his race in the general population of the country.

Another reason for the presence of the Klan is somewhat more intricate.

At the bottom of the opinions and convictions of the radicals of all schools there lies a question of survival. Class consciousness is not only a dissatisfaction with existing conditions, which leads to attempts to overthrow them; it is also a philosophy of life, a regulator of human conduct. The class conscious proletarian tests the dictates of his capitalistic masters, their teachings from the point of view of their practicability and their bearing on his own chances of survival. To be class conscious is to be wise to the stale and be-whiskered platitudes peddled by capitalistic

(Continued on Back Page).

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Our View.

HELP THE GERMAN WORKERS.

A REPLY TO THE APPEAL OF MESSRS. BRAMLEY AND HENDERSON.

Messrs. Henderson and Bramley, as Secretaries of the Trades Union Congress General Council and Labour Party Executive, have issued an appeal, on behalf of the equivalent German Trade Union organisation and the German Social Democratic Party.

The contention on which the appeal is based is that the terrible social conditions now existing in Germany are driving the workers to join either the reactionaries or the revolutionaries. We think it is clear that only the revolutionaries will receive large numbers of working-class recruits to their ranks. Messrs. Henderson and Bramley call for funds to maintain the hold upon the workers of the Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Party, the two German organisations which, during the war, were notorious for their jingoism and for their sacrifice of working class interests. Mr. Henderson and his colleague were, during the war, unsparing in their denunciation of these organisations. When, at the close of the war, the German workers arose to make the revolution, these organisations officially attempted to damp down the uprising; but as soon as the revolution had triumphed, the leaders of the Trade Unions and Social Democratic Party, Schiedemann and Noske, came out into the streets to proclaim the Republic, and to declare themselves as its leaders. The officials of the Trade Unions and Social Democratic Party soon became the Government of the German Republic. They used their power to stop the progress of the workers. Having entered into an agreement with the industrial employers to limit the objects of the revolution to such measures as the recognition of the Trade Unions, and the eight-hour day, the Trade Unions and Social Democratic leaders maintained their bargain with the employers when they reached the seats of government.

They viciously repressed the attempts of the Workshop Councils to carry the revolution further; they gave the revolutionary leaders over to the violence of the reactionary militarists, and there followed the murders of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and hundreds of other brave comrades.

The Trade Union and Social Democratic leaders occupied the seats of government with the support of a vast electoral majority. They proved weak, incompetent and false to their trust, and were succeeded in office by various capitalist party Governments, into some of which the Trade Union and Social Democratic leaders have entered, on a coalition basis.

Need we wonder that the workers are turning from the leadership which has proved so false and futile?

Would it not be both foolish and wrong to attempt to re-establish that leadership by the help of funds contributed by British workers?

We urge the workers of this country not to contribute to the fund recommended by

Messrs. Henderson and Bramley for the German Trade Union and Social Democratic Party.

UNITED STATES METHOD.

In the Presidential election for the Central American Republic of Honduras, General Carias, a candidate specially favoured by the United States Government, was not elected. None of the three candidates secured a majority. In such a case the President is selected by the Honduras Congress. Apparently the situation is not pleasing to the United States Government, which has sent a message to the Honduras Government threatening to intervene if the election should result in disorder, and intimating recognition may be withheld both by the U.S. and by the states bordering on Honduras which are bound to the U.S. by ties of gold. It was also indicated that "should revolutionary disturbances occur," there would be "slight possibility of arranging either for the settlement of the outstanding debt or for loans." United States bankers are evidently moving in the case of Honduras, as they have moved in those of its neighbours. As for the anticipated "disturbances," certain people in the U.S. know all too well how to arrange such matters.

"Americanism" is being proudly displayed in defence of the prohibition law. A federal prohibition army, organised to enforce the law, operates in remarkable ways. Just before Christmas this army, without consulting the State or local authorities, invaded Williamstown, County Illinois, 450 local citizens were enrolled in the Prohibition army, 400 of whom were members of the Ku Klux Klan. This army sprang surprise attacks with gun fire on suspected persons and premises. In one town a battle took place which lasted an hour and a half.

It is interesting to observe that Williamstown County is a sparsely populated mining area. Why, it may be wondered, was Williamstown County selected for such a prohibition raid? The answer is not far to seek. Williamstown County includes the area in which lies the Herrin Strip mine, where occurred the famous battle between the mine-owners' gunmen and the mine strikers, supported by the neighbouring populace, in which the gunmen were defeated.

Division Chief Simons, captain of the Prohibition forces, spoke of the operations of the Prohibition forces there as the greatest concerted effort yet made to break up the organisation responsible for the Herrin warfare.

Evidently prohibition has ushered in the United States Black and Tans.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald should consider such evidences of America's love of democracy.

THE THREATENED RAILWAY STRIKE.

The Liberal "Manchester Guardian" suggests that a strike by the railway locomotive men would be displeasing to the officials, both of the Trade Union Congress and of the Labour Party. The "Guardian" hints that should the strike take place, Mr. MacDonald and his colleagues will be able to take very much more effective measures to compel the locomotive men's officials to end the strike than could be employed by any ordinary Government. The Liberal organ evidently desires that Party pressure of an entirely undemocratic character shall be used to frustrate the instructions given to their officials by a very large majority of the locomotive men.

Mr. Thomas, Mr. Cramp, and the other N.U.R. officials have thus far maintained their approval of the award which the Locomotive Union refuses to accept. Whether the N.U.R. would continue to stand by the employers, should the locomotive men actually strike work, cannot yet be decisively stated, because the rank and file mind cannot be fully estimated beforehand. That Mr. Thomas would support the employers against Mr. Bromley's Union seems only too likely.

A determined railway strike, as we have

previously observed, would provide a striking test of the expected Labour Government. Should it use coercion to end the strike, it would lose the favour of its working-class supporters. Should it permit a lengthy strike to continue, its middle class members would flock from it in large numbers to re-join the Liberals. The locomotive men have the power to quicken the political pace in this country by leaps and bounds. Will they do it?

THE OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

A baton charge upon unemployed marchers in Manchester, and the hustling of an unemployed procession in London, are suggestive adjuncts to the opening of Parliament. Such incidents throw a searchlight upon the true position of affairs.

The King's Speech contains many things that were anticipated. The fiscal question is dealt with tactfully, as though in the hope of placating the more conservative Free Traders. The fiscal changes proposed are put forward as merely the execution of the Imperial Conference decisions, and it is observed that a substantial extension of Imperial Preferences can be effected, without departure from the existing fiscal system of this country. That, of course, is a pleasant, but scarcely accurate manner of describing the driving of the protectionist wedge many degrees further in.

It is indicated that since the elections did not give the Tory Government a majority, fiscal proposals, which would otherwise have been made, are not now forthcoming. Therefore, in addition to the Imperial Preference measures, the existing trade facilities and export credits are to be extended and enlarged.

Financial aid to public enterprises throughout the Empire and extension of the contributions to the cost of public utility works, whether by local authorities or private persons, are also proposed as panaceas for unemployment. These latter things, of course, are what the Labour Party has been promising, as one of its principal election planks.

Increased naval armaments are proposed on the pretext also of finding work for the unemployed. A gruesome notion. Air Force expansion is proposed in the familiar guise of Home Defence.

The proposal to call a conference of the various agricultural interests and of the various political parties to arrive at an agreed policy, is another attempt to take the wind out of the Labour Party sails. Nothing but talk can come of such a conference, whoever calls it, unless it results in some form of subsidy, to be paid by the rest of the community, either in the form of a protective tariff or a Government bounty of some sort. Any measure of that kind would of course please the Tory landlords and the farmers. The Labour Party has toyed for some time with such "stunts" as the columns of the "New Leader" indicate. Such subsidising of private enterprise is of course quite alien to spirit and purposes of Socialism.

The speech contains numbers of little social reform pills, "stolen from other folks' programmes," says the "Star." In practice these measures would amount to very little, as is usual with such sops. They include higher pensions for pre-war pensioners, reduction of means limitation in Old Age Pensions, extension of juvenile employment centres, increased facilities for general and technical education, development of the probationary system for offenders, and improved administration of justice, amendment of the Factory and Workshops Acts, legitimisation of children born out of wedlock, whose parents have subsequently married, amendment of law in relation to separation and maintenance orders, the securing of increased activity of local authorities to enable working people to own their houses, completion of Land Purchase in Northern Ireland, guaranteeing of Irish Free State loans under its recent Land Act, ascertainment of costs and profits in the distribution of milk, improvement of London road traffic, reform in rating valuation in England, Wales and Scotland—the pet demand of Poplar. Even Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's little squib from his

booklet on Labour Party foreign policy, in which he chided the Tory Government for winking at those who smuggle alcoholic beverages into the United States, has been taken note of. The Tory Government announces that it is on the eve of concluding an agreement with the United States to settle this matter. The League of Nations and Reparations receive a few amiable and non-committal words.

The Liberal and Labour Parties, if and when they come to draft the King's speeches, will be forced to go several points further in Social Reform than they would otherwise have done, now that the Tories have taken to stealing their Social Reform tabloids.

The play is amusing; but little real benefit will come of it to anyone save the players.

A Liberal newspaper reports that there was an extraordinary assemblage "of poor folk to watch the royal procession go to open Parliament." "They seemed drawn by the belief," says the newspaper, "that the dawn of a new era was at hand." Yet the same newspaper gives special prominence to such headlines as "The Queen's Wonderful Gems," "Peeresses' Jewels," "Gowns to match Emeralds and Sapphires," "Pearls and Diamonds," and a special report on the resplendent fashions displayed in the House of Lords.

Such accounts recall old France on the eve of the Revolution.

ZAGLUL'S VICTORY.

The party of Zaglul, the lately returned Egyptian Nationalist deportee, has scored a tremendous victory in the elections for the Egyptian Parliament. The British Government is said to view the result with calmness. We do not think that the Nationalism of Zaglul is of a very aggressive order; we anticipate many changes in Egyptian politics in the early future.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

FROM THE PUBLISHERS

History and its Place in Education, by J. J. Findlay, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Education in the University of Manchester (University of London Press, Ltd., 17, Warwick Square, London, E.C.4.).

We like the broad outlines of the syllabus which Professor Findlay has indicated for the teaching of history and correlated subjects, the humanities, as he broadly calls them. We do not, however, agree with him in his advocacy of patriotism which, in essence, really means partisanship. We are glad that he discourages the specific teaching of patriotism.

We disagree with him in his contention that children should not be taught of the social injustices which have scarred the pages of history, of the social reforms that have been effected, and of the struggles to secure them. Historical teaching which expunges such records cannot be other than a falsification, as well as lame and halting. Modern history especially is inexplicable without the record of its social struggles. We should be at a loss to know why Professor Findlay should consider it unsuitable for children to learn, for instance, the history of child labour, were it not that he indicates his fear that such teaching may make the young people too radical in their opinions.

In spite of such faults as those indicated by the above criticisms, the book should prove a useful and thought-producing one to a large number of teachers and parents.

For children from four to eight years Professor Findlay recommends that the teaching of the universities should be mainly by story-telling. He advocates the telling of fairy tales and legends as well as of matters of fact. Whilst admitting the charm of mythology, we are not quite sure that that course is sound, for facts are really as romantic and wonderful as fiction, and the telling of myth and magic should probably be left till the child is old enough to be fully aware that these are merely make-believe.

Professor Findlay points out that the environment of town-bred children severs them

from the old-world stories, and causes them to turn to shop-keeping in their play. He recommends the introduction into the infant school of "primitive man" occupations, both to revivify such stories as "Robinson Crusoe," "Hiawatha," "Joseph the Dreamer," "Nausicaa," and the nursery rhymes, and also to provide a foundation for the development of arts and crafts and the exercise of tools and materials, and for the grasp of number and form.

Such playwork Professor Findlay regards as a counterpoise to what he regards as the "ultra-scientific tendencies" of the Montessori apparatus.

Professor Findlay advocates the study of local history, geography and literature in the manner known as the "Regional Survey." Traces of prehistoric man of Celts, Romans, Angles, Danes, Normans, and Franks, which are to be found in the locality are to be brought to the notice of the child, as well as the history of the local industries from their earliest beginnings. Dialect and place-names will also be used to teach their lessons. European countries abound in materials for such local surveys. The Colonies provide rich stores of interest in traces of the lives of early settlers, whilst primitive man may be studied at first hand from the native population.

Professor Findlay would absorb the children between four and eight years of age in stories of early man, made real to them by simple hand and tool work.

Between 8 and 12 years he would give the children "a bowing acquaintance with the chief epochs and outstanding characters in history, and with the chief countries where these events have occurred; above all with works of art, at least of literature, in which these facts find noble expression."

The child is now to be taught to distinguish between the men who used flint tools, and those who used bronze tools. He will learn of the caves and hutments of early men, of man as a wanderer driven by ice and tempest. The story will be illustrated by handwork and outdoor games. Professor Findlay does not recommend much reading by children at this age, but suggests that the teacher should read aloud or paraphrase such books as R. H. Hall's "Days Before History," Catharine Dopp's "Story of Ab," and Rudyard Kipling's "Puck of Pook's Hill," from which he quotes:—

And see yon marks that show and fade,
Like shadows on the Downs?
O, they are lines the first men made
To guard their wondrous towns.
Trackway and Camp and City lost,
Salt Marsh where now is corn;
Old wars, old Peace, old Arts that cease,
And so was England born!
She is not any common Earth,
Water, or wood, or air,
But Merlin's Isle of Gramarye,
Where you and I will fare.

Kipling's Imperialism and the reactionary character of much of his writing makes him a writer whose works are only in part suitable for children. The children's books of Mary E. Marcy are probably not known to Professor Findlay. They are eminently suitable for a course such as he describes. Macmillan's "Origin of the World" is an exceedingly useful handbook for the teacher.

From the cavemen Professor Findlay would take the children to the cradle of civilisation. He would teach them the story of Joseph and his brethren and other Hebrew stories given in the Bible. He says:

"We need not distress ourselves as to the notions which a child may form of the divine call to Abraham, or of Pharaoh's dreams; whatever conceptions a child may hold of God and man he may leave the child's imagination to take its own course."

Needless to say, we should here join issue with Professor Findlay, we should give the child a purely secular education, and, if in dealing with the Hebrews we gave an indication of their beliefs, we should give it in a purely secular and historic spirit.

Such a work as Brestead's "Ancient Times" is a useful one to place in the hands of the

teacher of young children, and unless the teacher were able to give a secular character to the teaching we should leave out the Bible altogether.

From Nineveh and Babylon Professor Findlay would pass to the Nile and the Mediterranean and to the walls of Troy. He recommends "Development" from Robert Browning's Asolando as a poem to read to the children, and quotes from it as follows:—

"My father was a scholar and knew Greek
"When I was five years old. I asked him
once,

"What do you read about?"

"The Siege of Troy."

"What is a Siege and what is Troy?"

Whereat

He piled up chairs and tables for a town

Set me atop for Priam, called our cat

—Helen enticed away from home (he said),

By wicked Paris, who . . .

So far I rightly understood the case

At five years old; a huge delight it proved

And still proves—thanks to that instructor
sage,

My father, who knew better than turn straight
Learning's full glare on weak-eyed ignorance.

It happened, two or three years afterwards,
That—I and playmates playing at Troy's
siege—

My father came upon our make-believe.

"How would you like to read yourself the
tale,

Properly told, of which I gave you first,

Merely such notion as a boy could bear?

Pope, now, could give you such precise account

Of what, some day, by dint of scholarship,

You'll hear—who knows?—from Homer's
very mouth.

Learn Greek by all means, read the 'Blind
Old Man,

Sweetest of Singers'—*tuplos*, which means
'blind.'

Hedistos, which means 'sweetest,' Time
enough!

Try, anyhow, to master him some day;

Until when, take what serves for substitute,
Read Pope, by all means!"

So I ran through Pope.

Professor Findlay would give the children a year to study the East, take them through the conquests of Alexander the Great, and as far as India, then to Rome, and westward to Britain, they would travel southward to Gaul and Italy, northward to Scandinavia, learning of Caesar, Boadicea, Alfred, Canute, William the Norman, Patrick, Columbia, Augustine, Dunstan, York and Holy Island, covering a period of 1,000 years.

The next school year is devoted to mediæval Europe. With the Edwards and Henrys, Scotland, England and France are visited, Langland's Piers the Ploughman, Carlyle's monks at Edmundsbury, the Knights who fought at Crecy and Bannockburn, and the outlaws of the forest will pass under review. A period of 500 years is covered by the child between his ninth and tenth year.

The next year will cover the times of Elizabeth, Wolfe, Frederick the Great, Washington and Napoleon.

At twelve years of age the child has reached the end of the eighteenth century. Two years, the last in the elementary school, are devoted to the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth.

Between nine and ten years of age the child will begin to use and to make time charts and maps. The author mentions a class of twelve-year-olds who made, bound and illuminated large octavo notebooks containing a time chart with illustrations, extracts from documents, and original compositions. He recommends the use of a handbook combining an atlas, a date and event list, and pictorial illustrations. Professor Findlay recommends a time chart entitled "The World Story of 3,000,000,000(?) years," by J. H. Reeves (P. S. King and Sons). He urges that poetry dealing with the period should be read, copied and illuminated.

He condemns history and other class readers and recommends a class library, so that every child may read many books. He objects to the system which keeps one entire

class at the same task and the cutting up of the school day into seven separate lessons. Up to twelve years of age he would treat history, geography, literature and composition as one study. Some of the children in the class may be doing individual work, while at the same time, others will be engaged in groups of two, three or four in some co-operative effort.

When children reach ten years of age Professor Findlay would encourage the children to make plays of historical novels and prose chronicles, writing, acting and making the scenery and accessories to the story.

Such books on education make us desire to live our schooldays through again, but plans of this kind will never be carried out whilst classes of 50, 60 and 70 children are herded together under one overworked teacher, and whilst the schools are governed from Whitehall in the spirit of National Economy and the prejudice of class.

The Deportations Delirium of 1920. By Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labour of the United States from 1913 to 1921. (Kerr, Chicago. \$1.50.)

Mr. Post's book gives a mass of interesting fact about the deportations from the United States, suspected of Red tendencies. We confess ourselves out of sympathy with any who, having retained official position and official salary during the heat of the White Terror, now that office has passed from them decide to make public condemnation of the White Terrorist methods. It is true that Mr. Post, whilst retaining office, desired to administer the deportation powers in a more moderate fashion than that employed by some other officials. It is true that he was threatened with impeachment for his moderation. Nevertheless he retained office in spite of his knowledge that many of those deported were not justly deported according to the spirit and letter of the law. Moreover, Mr. Post was apparently not averse to deporting aliens who were Anarchists or Bolsheviks.

It is interesting to observe that the deportation of alien "Reds" was put into the hands of the Department of Labour. Mr. Post protests that the Department of Justice officials interfered in the business injudiciously. One of the victims, an alien, Salsedo, for whose arrest Mr. Post had given authority, fell into the hands of the Department of Justice, was kept prisoner some months with another alien, Elia, and finally tumbled mysteriously out of an upper storey window and was killed.

The Secretary of Mr. Martens, the Soviet Ambassador, was maltreated by Department of Justice servants in a "peculiarly malignant and horrible" manner.

Anticipating the same fate for Mr. Martens, should he fall into the clutches of the Department of Justice, Mr. Post arranged to arrest Mr. Martens himself and to place him in the parole of his solicitor.

SPICE.

Speaking at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, London, yesterday, Mr. Scott Duckers said that many of the expectations which had been formed as to Labour foreign policy would be disappointed. It had already been settled, he stated, that, while no more money would be voted for Singapore at present, the official policy of the new Government should include—

1. The fullest possible reparations from Germany;
2. A powerful navy;
3. A well-paid and efficient army; and
4. Failing a more satisfactory understanding with France, a largely increased Air Force.

The political ex-prisoners who dined in the House of Commons the other day were the ex-prisoners who have since become constitutionalists, and are regarded as safe supporters of the next Government.

The first time we saw Miss Margaret Bondfield she was debating against Miss Isabella Ford, of Leeds, who was sustaining the case for Votes for Women. Time brings strange changes.

Some *Daily Herald* readers are nervous lest Robert Blatchford, who has written for jingo capitalist papers, should write for the Labour daily.

Yet Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, the editor of the *Daily Herald*, was a Northcliffe pressman and a jingo of jingoes.

M.P.'s' salaries do not begin till they have taken the oath of allegiance to the King.

Mr. George Lansbury suggests the oath be taken publicly at the time of election to add dignity to the ceremony!

TO-DAY.

By A. B. HOWIE.

Fellow Workers,—We are beginning another year; at the end of it you will be the same as you are, no better off.

Does it not strike you that something is wrong with the system, when you who are lucky work as wage slaves, year after year, and have nothing to show for your labour? You live from hand to mouth, always trying to make ends meet, always pinching yourselves, in semi-starvation, wearing shoddy clothes, bad boots or shoes, eating adulterated food, living in slums, always tired, never free from the fear of getting the sack.

You who are unemployed walk the streets looking for work, going in all directions without hope. The rotten system is driving you to despair, making you lose faith in everything. You become bitter, cursing the day you were born.

Everyone seems to be against you; you are driven to hate, more like a beast than a human being. Down you go to the lowest depths of poverty, from which you will never rise again. We Free Communists know all about it. That is why we are determined to end it, to get at the root, to wreck the capitalist system, which causes such suffering and bad conditions for the workers. There is no other way, as you cannot mend it.

The capitalist throws bones in the name of charity to you, to pacify and keep you from revolting. When you produce too much they call it over-production. There are so many suits of clothes that men must go ragged, so much coal that in the bitter winter people have to shiver, such over-filled stores that people actually die of starvation.

Over-production: was a greater absurdity ever uttered? It is not over-production, it is unjust distribution. When every man, woman and child is supplied with everything he or she wants, then what is left over may be over-production. Under the capitalist system that would not be allowed, as its basis is profit, instead of use and want. The increased output of the workers is detrimental to them. Their wages are too small to allow them to buy the necessities they require. When they have produced they become unemployed and must wait and starve until the food they have produced rots, or the capitalist gives orders to destroy the surplus. You have heard or read of fish thrown back into the sea, beef, potatoes, wheat, fruit, etc., in all the large cities sent to the destroyer.

So long as the workers are doped on the money question, allowing money to be used, certainly the drones, the idle rich, will always get everything they desire, without doing any work, because they have the money.

It is said money represents labour; that is a farce. The idle rich do not labour; all they do is to spend money, and have plenty of it by investing as shareholders. The *Glasgow Evening Times*, September 5, 1923, in a report on Henry Ford's Motor Car Company, told that Miss R. V. Couzens, a school teacher, invested £20 19 years ago and drew £71,000.

The Company's profits were £86,000,000 in 19 years. The school teacher never screwed a bolt or a nut, or performed any labour on a motor car; yet she is rich and can laugh and enjoy herself as long as this capitalist system lasts. You, fellow-worker, will always be a wage slave.

Just think on the money question, when

you are fighting for a rise in wages; it is a delusion.

The *Daily Herald*, December 20, 1923, gave a report of Bonar Law's fortune. He left £51,397 ls. 5d. He startled the House of Commons during a debate on the Finance Bill on July 3rd, 1917, by a disclosure of the profits in the shipping trade. "The sum of money I had invested in shipping," he said, "spread over 15 different shipping companies, was £8,100. Five per cent. on that, which in ordinary times I should be glad to get, would be £405. For the year 1915, instead of £405 I received £3,624, and for 1916 I received £3,847. A steamer was either sunk or sold. In that ship I had £200; I received a cheque for over £1,000." Although Bonar Law was not a friend of the working class, or out for a change of the system, he was honest; he gave the affair away on the money trick.

When you go to the country or seaside use your eyes, and you will see mansions and villas with plenty of ground around them; room to live, fresh air, everything that is desirable, people going about in motor cars, wearing fine clothes, eating the best of food, and drinking the purest of wines, reading books, or on the golf course, or the bowling green, or playing at lawn tennis. They do not know what to do to fill in the day, because life to them is so easy. They have only to kill time. Their money is always increasing. This is a glorious system to them. They cannot understand why you working people are discontented. They believe that you cannot live without them, as they invest their money to give you work. What more do you want, they think, than to let them have their heaven upon earth, whilst your life is a hell? They will not toil or spin. The money delusion is at the bottom of the trouble. Get your mates to understand that as long as they are deluded when they get their wages at the week-end, and do not consider the investment farce, the privileged class will carry on. When you learn that labour is the source of all wealth, you will not allow your produce to go to anybody unless they work. That will be the end of capitalism. Money will then be no use.

Under Free Communism industry will be run in the interest of the workers. Money then will not buy a loaf of bread, or anything else.

Under our ideal system, there will be no money. Then all the drones will have to labour; either that, or starve. That is our object.

We appeal to you to learn that you have no need of capitalists to draw profits from your labour. What you do for them, do for yourselves. Then all the misery, degradation and poverty will vanish. There will be no starvation or waste of food under Communism.

Come, let us all do our best, by sowing the seed towards that day; pushing our literature, also our weekly paper—"The Worker's Dreadnought."

UNEMPLOYED WORKERS' ORGANISATION.

Another year has past, leaving the problem of unemployment still stalking rampant from one end of the country to the other.

As in other years, promises of trade revival have been a secured feature in the speeches of statesmen and in the columns of the Capitalist press.

Yet we have an army of about two million unemployed without the slightest idea when work will be found again.

Everywhere we find poverty and misery in the homes of our class. That poverty and misery should impel us to intense activity.

We of the U.W.O. are striving to rouse the unemployed from tame acceptance of their miserable status.

E. C.

There is every sign of Bow becoming the scene of battle before long. This battle will be between the Unemployed Workers' Organisation and the N.U.W.C.M. At the London District Council of the latter body last week a resolution was moved by No. 9 Area Council

to the effect "That a meeting be held at Bow Baths on January 9th with the purpose of capturing that Branch of the U.W.O., but under no circumstances must J. Johns, Pearson, Bellamy, Mummery or Soderberg be allowed to join the N.U.W.C.M. should that body be successful in forming a Branch.

As to Pearson and Johns we wish to inform the N.U.W.C.M. that these two individuals are no longer members of the U.W.O., so they need not worry about that. As to Soderberg, Bellamy and Mummery we wish to point out that these three Comrades have no desire of joining the N.U.W.C.M., so as far as that goes the N.U.W.C.M. need not waste paper or time on that issue. I can assure the parties interested in this question that as long as the N.U.W.C.M. continue with their "tea pink" policy these men are not likely to apply for membership.

As to the rest of the organisation I can also assure the N.U.W.C.M. that they will not be very successful in capturing any members. The Bow members have had enough of the old organisation to last them for a while and have no desire of rejoining it again. We welcome the N.U.W.C.M. to Bow in their endeavour to form a Branch, and we also wish to assure them that we shall not be missing when they arrive. So just go at it Bo'; we are prepared to welcome you and give you the reception you deserve.

We also notice that the N.U.W.C.M. is going to affiliate, or at any rate the London District Council, to the Brotherhood Movement. Well, well, what can you expect? I believe the Salvation Army in Bow is contemplating forming a new branch, so there is your chance L.D.C. Anything to improve the financial position, especially when it shows a deficit every week, as a consequence of the income dwindling down to the magnificent sum of £2 13s. 6d., and the expenditure amounting to £5 2s. 4d. No wonder they are trying to rope in new victims.

As to the Unemployed Workers' Organisation. That body is still going strong and the membership is increasing by leaps and bounds.

We are also forming a Branch in Leeds. The whole of the Leeds District Council are not quite satisfied with the N.U.W.C.M., so as a consequence a letter has been received from there asking for particulars which have been sent, together with cards and other supplies, for a Branch to be formed in that locality. We are expanding our activities outside London and our propaganda is now showing good results. Our membership in London is now well over 3,000 and new members continue to roll in.

Edmonton is doing very well indeed and holding large meetings twice a week, which all goes to show that our propaganda and methods are being appreciated in all quarters. We shall continue in spite of all opposition. In spite of any political fakers or parties combining against us.

Joy and happiness reign supreme at 3, Queen Square. About 50 of Poplar unemployed have formed a branch of the N.U.W.C.M., and been graciously received by the N.A.C. as *The Official* unemployed of Poplar.

This happened Tuesday last when Homer, the London Organiser, came to Poplar to address a meeting. Wilkinson, one of the N.U.W.C.M. "operatives," was in the chair. Homer, of course, spun the usual tale about the united front, etc., and no doubt, this went to the heart of Wilkinson and others, so when finally a vote was taken about 50 out of 400 decided to join the N.U.W.C.M. It may interest Homer and others to know that the remaining members of the U.W.O. have now joined Bow Branch of that organisation.

During the meeting at Poplar Homer stated that he would be at Bow the following Friday. No doubt he thought that the Bow Branch would follow as some in Poplar had done. Well, Homer arrived with six banners from the N.U.W.C.M., and a demonstration from six Branches of that outfit amounting to somewhere about 75 supporters. When arriving at Bow Baths, Homer seemed very much surprised indeed to find the hall empty. He had

expected the whole of Bow Branch of the U.W.O. to be rushing there to hear his sweet message of Unity, Liberty and Freedom. He was indeed surprised to find that only the caretaker was present. His men marched in and took their seats, and Homer proceeded with his address. By this time about 20 of the Bow U.W.O. members had turned up for the purpose of asking certain questions. The chairman solemnly declared that any questions the meeting liked to ask would be answered. However, at the end of Homer's address another speaker was called on, namely, Mr. Fisher. After some considerable time the chairman announced that questions would now be taken. The writer rose to ask whether Homer would like a debate on the principles of the N.U.W.C.M., and those of the U.W.O. Homer did not feel inclined to accept that challenge anyhow. During his speech Homer had stated that the financial position of the L.D.C. was now so stabilised and good that it was ready for anything. The questioner then read the financial statement for the previous week, which showed a deficit of £1 14s. 10d. after all the expenses for Homer and Martin had been deducted. Homer had nothing to say to this, only it had been a slack week owing to New Year, etc. After two or three more questions the chairman declared the meeting closed, without putting it to the vote as to whether a Branch of the N.U.W.C.M. should be formed or no. Pity he did not. But welcome again, old man. We are prepared for you. G. E. SODERBERG.

WHAT NEXT?

The proletarian movement is awakening from the long apathy that followed the brief upheaval after the war.

The workers, in the mass, are looking for salvation to Parliament and the Labour Party.

Those who realise that Capitalism must be abolished, not reformed, and that society must be reconstructed from the bottom, not from the top, must renew our efforts to spread the knowledge of free industrial Communism and the Workers' Councils.

We make an urgent appeal to comrades to sell the *Dreadnought* at at least one meeting every week.

COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT. INDOOR MEETINGS.

Sunday, January 20th, 7.30 p.m., Hamilton Hall, 375, High Road, Willesden Green. Sylvia Pankhurst and others.

Sunday, February 3rd, 7 p.m., New Morris Hall, 79, Bedford Road, Clapham. Sylvia Pankhurst, N. Smyth.

Sunday, February 17th, 7.30 p.m., Hamilton Hall, Willesden Green.

IMPORTANT!

We urgently suggest that comrades should endeavour to secure new subscribers to the "Workers' Dreadnought," and that they should collect at meetings and from their friends whatever is possible. However small the sum you can collect, it will be welcomed. Send it in stamps or postal orders. The "Dreadnought" is not self-supporting: the editing and managing is unpaid.



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NEWS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

All the political parties looked upon the recent Provincial Council elections in the light of a general trial of strength, on the basis of Smuts versus the Nationalist-Labour pact. Having been defeated at the above elections the "Outlook" (the organ of the S.A.L. Party), opened their gas attack upon the Communist Party. The last issue of the "Outlook" (November 23rd) has the following reference to the "International" (the organ of the Communist Party, III. International):—

"A paper is circulated on Sunday evenings called 'International,' and is the official organ of the Communists of South Africa. While we would be the first to oppose any tampering with the freedom of the Press, yet we do think there are limits even to plain speaking in a newspaper. Some of the articles are nothing more nor less than a bad attempt to hide the filth they contain."

The "Outlook" goes on to explain:—

"The Labour Party is a strictly constitutional party, and not out to alter the order of things with a bloody revolution."

The "Outlook" concludes with the following paragraph:—

"Quite recently we (the Labour Party) led a deputation to the City Council (Cape Town) asking a site for public meetings. We were turned down, although our propaganda would have been of a moderate nature. We wonder what the City Council are thinking of when they allow the Communists to hold such an important place in the City when their propaganda is of such a virile nature, and when their audiences consist mainly of natives and coloured people, who are certainly beginning to show signs of unrest distilled by this active group."

Anyone reading the "Outlook" would have thought that all the ills from which South African Labour suffers were due to the Communist Party.

There has been no end of commotion in Labour circles owing to the candidate's non-arrival, or rather late arrival at the Nomination Court for the Harbour Division. There are insinuations and innuendoes that palm-oil made the candidate sleep beyond the usual time.

If we believed that the Labour Party could do anything for the workers we would vote for its candidates, but our knowledge of Capitalist society will not allow us to believe that the Labour Party can do anything except keep Capitalism running as smoothly as possible.

ISAAC VERMONT.

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Continued from Page 3.

hirelings. By the results of such an attitude, the proletarian is able to regulate his behaviour in a way where he can manage to survive by the expense of a minimum of energy. Class consciousness in every-day life means the saving of energy, that energy which the capitalistically-minded worker dissipates in the acts that are to the master's liking, but have no usefulness to himself. To put the whole thing in a nutshell: there is survival value in class consciousness and a social behaviour based thereon.

COPY MASTER'S MORAL CODE.

Nobody realises this better than the simpletons who accept capitalistic teachings as economic gospel. Those fellows practise all the virtues of the master's moral code and the majority of them wait for their reward in vain. They are thrifty, some of them give of their substance to keep up the master's pet schemes, they ape their economic overlords in their silliest poses and attitudes without a sense of personal satisfaction or a consciousness of reasonable behaviour. They are unable to defend themselves against their own emotions cleverly played upon by the efficient specialists whom the master maintains for that purpose. There is bound to come a day in their lives when they realise that they are the victims of a fallacy, that they have been squandering their energy in valueless pursuits. But they do not acknowledge their mistakes. It takes a man to admit the survival value of class consciousness in the practical things of every-day life, and it becomes their purpose to force the dissenters to abide by their own rules, not as a matter of moralistic fervour, but because such an act puts others by compulsion in the unfavourable position in which they realise that they are themselves. Thus they try to establish in their own favour a levelling down towards an equality in mediocrity.

That function is now being fulfilled by the Klan. As an organisation, it is interfering with the private morals of outsiders, meting out punishment for acts which the law fails to condemn, theoretically in the name of a moral principle, but in reality to deprive the more advanced thinkers of the benefits of their wisdom and force them back with themselves in the ranks of those who accept as gospel truth all forms of capitalistic humbug.

The reader may verify the accuracy of this general statement by applying it specifically to any concrete issue of his own choice.

A MIDDLE-CLASS AFFAIR.

In conclusion we may state that the Klan is a middle-class affair, but that it is not likely that that class will in any way be allowed to derive any kind of benefit from all the cowardly outlawry hidden behind its regalia.

Capitalism has got the drop on the Klan through its economic power.

The Klan practically controls the State of Oregon. Middle-class votes put it in power. Yet it has nothing to show in the line of achievement that could be considered as favouring the interest of the farmer or the small merchant, but its leadership is closely in alliance with electric light and power corporations, and it is generally admitted by those who are in a position to know that the main result of Klan control will be the transfer to private ownership of nearly all the available water power in the State.

Wherever the Klan may achieve political power it will by the very logic of things as they are and the predominance of the economic motive be compelled to strike the same attitude.

THE "GERMINAL CIRCLE."

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The "Germinal Circle" exists to assist in promoting the expression of modern ideas and aspirations through the medium of the arts. To the Secretary, "Germinal Circle."

I wish to join the "Germinal Circle," and enclose one shilling to cover the annual subscription.

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GETTING EDUCATED.

"The working man has taken a long time to educate, but he is coming forward now," said the carman's assistant with a jubilant smile.

He was considering the prospect of a Labour Government, fellow worker, and the prospect pleased him.

"They cannot do much without a majority," someone answered.

"They are not expected to do much yet," the carman's assistant replied. "It will be the election after this that will count. The working man is beginning to realise that it isn't the big people who do all the good."

The carman's assistant was very confident, fellow worker. One would not have liked to damp his enthusiasm.

Moreover, we agree with him that the working man, who "has taken a long time to educate," is now really making substantial progress in his ideas.

The post office clerk, who joined in the fag-end of our talk with the carman's assistant, has a habit of going to the root of things.

"You want a Labour Government," he said; "but I do not want a Government at all. Why should you want to be governed?"

The post office clerk was right, fellow worker; he has had a taste of State capitalism; he knows what it means. He knows that, though employed by the State, he is still a wage slave.

The carman's assistant has not yet looked ahead beyond the reforms that might be granted by the House of Commons.

He has not conceived that the working man and woman, who, as he says, are coming forward now, might some day come so far forward as actually to organise their conditions of life for themselves, instead of having the organising done for them by Members of Parliament.

The carman's assistant has not heard of the Workers' Councils.

That is a pity, fellow worker; for when he understands the theory of free Communism and the Workers' Councils, he will realise that Parliament is a lumbering, out-of-date machine, which does not, and cannot, give the people a living part in organising their own affairs.

Mr. Jack Jones, M.P., was offended, fellow worker, because the Members of the House of Lords did not present themselves in large enough numbers to please him, when both the Lords and Commons were summoned to the House of Lords to hear the Royal Assent to the election of the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Tush-tush, fellow worker; the unfortunate people who have gone into Ashby-de-la-Zouch Workhouse for lack of houses do not care a straw for such paltry forms and ceremonies.

"Abolition of the House of Lords" was a healthier cry than this demand for respect from Lords to Commons.

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COMMUNIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, meetings to explain the policy of this movement, can be arranged on application to the Secretary, 152, Fleet Street, E.C.4.

FOR SALE.—Engineer's Taper Gauge, £1; Radius Gauge, 7s. 6d. (Starrett's). Proceeds for "Dreadnought" Fund.

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